

PEKING REVIEW

20

May 17, 1974

北
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周
報

**Chairman Mao Meets Prime
Minister and Begum Bhutto**

**Mighty Ideological Weapon in the
Struggle Against Revisionism**

— A study of Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"

**"May 7" Cadre School — An Important
Achievement of the Great
Cultural Revolution**

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Chairman Mao Meets Prime Minister And Begum Bhutto

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the evening of May 11 met with Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Begum Bhutto and principal members of their entourage.

Members of their entourage present at the meeting were Jalaluddin Abdur Rahim, Minister for Production, Presidential Affairs and Commerce; Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs; Mohammad Yusuf Buch, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister; Meraj Khalid, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Yusuf Khattak, Members of the National Assembly; Nabi Baksh Zehri, Senator; Agha Shahi, Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Major-General A. Rahim Khan, Chief of General Staff of the Pakistan

Army. Pakistan Ambassador to China Mumtaz Ali Alvie was also present at the meeting.

When Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto and the other distinguished guests arrived at the meeting hall, Chairman Mao shook hands with each of them and expressed welcome to them on their visit to China. Then, Chairman Mao and Prime Minister Bhutto had a conversation in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung, and Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih were present at the meeting and the conversation.





Prime Minister Bhutto Visits China

ZULFIKAR Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, arrived in Peking on May 11 by special plane on an official visit to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

Prime Minister Bhutto and his wife Begum Bhutto as well as their entourage were given a rousing welcome at the airport by Chinese leaders Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, and responsible members of the departments concerned, including Chi Peng-fei, Liu Hsiang-ping and Chang Tsai-chien, as well as several thousand welcomers of the capital.

Premier Chou En-lai and Madame Teng Ying-chao cordially greeted Prime Minister Bhutto and Begum Bhutto and the other distinguished Pakistan guests at the Guest House.

Prime Minister Bhutto has been to China several times and has made contributions to the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples. At a time when Pakistan's domestic situation is getting better and better, Prime Minister Bhutto has come for another visit to China, bringing with him the profound sentiments of the Pakistan people.

In an editorial on May 11 welcoming the friendly envoy from Pakistan, *Renmin Ribao* said: "Pakistan is

China's close neighbour. Prime Minister Bhutto is an outstanding statesman of Pakistan and a respected old friend of the Chinese people. . . . In the more than two years since Prime Minister Bhutto took over the reins of government, relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Pakistan have undergone new development and consolidation. We are convinced that Prime Minister Bhutto's current visit

to China will surely make new contributions in further promoting China-Pakistan friendship."

On the following day, Chinese leaders Yeh Chien-ying, Chiang Ching, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme met Prime Minister Bhutto, Begum Bhutto and members of their entourage.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was host at a grand banquet given in the name of Premier Chou En-lai in the



Prime Minister Bhutto and Begum Bhutto receive a warm welcome at Peking Airport.



vening to welcome the distinguished guests in the Great Hall of the People which was permeated with a warm atmosphere of unity and friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Prime Minister Bhutto spoke at the banquet. (For excerpts of their speeches see pp. 7-9.)

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping held talks with Prime Minister Bhutto on the afternoon of May 12 in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping continued his talks with Prime Minister Bhutto the following afternoon and on the morning of May 14.

On the eve of their departure, Prime Minister Bhutto and Begum Bhutto gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth attended. Present on the occasion were Chinese leaders Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme. Prime Minister Bhutto and Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping spoke at the banquet.

In his speech, Prime Minister Bhutto said: Our visit has opened a new and vigorous phase in our relations. It has further consolidated the existing co-operation between us and

strengthened our common resolve to continue efforts for peace and the cause of the Third World. He expressed the conviction that the friendship between Pakistan and China will remain close and warm for ever.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping said: Prime Minister Bhutto's visit has made a positive contribution to promoting the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Pakistan and reinforcing the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. We wish that the Government and people of Pakistan, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, will continue to achieve new successes in the cause of defending state sovereignty and developing the national economy.

A joint communique (see p. 10) was issued after the conclusion of Prime Minister Bhutto's visit.

South Vietnamese Women Comrades-in-Arms Warmly Welcomed

On May 5, Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Com-

mittee; and Comrades Chiang Ching and Chi Teng-kuei, Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and had a very cordial and friendly conversation with all members of the Delegation of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation, who were paying a friendship visit to China. Leader of the delegation is Nguyen Thi Dinh, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, Chairman of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation and Deputy Commander of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces; and deputy leader is Nguyen Bach Tuyet, Member of the Executive Committee of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation.

At the meeting, Premier Chou congratulated the people and women of south Viet Nam on their victories in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and wished them still greater victories. Delegation leader Nguyen Thi Dinh conveyed regards from President Nguyen Huu Tho, President Huynh Tan Phat and the other leaders of south Viet Nam to Chairman Mao and the other Chinese leaders and presented them with an automatic rifle the south Vietnamese people had captured from the enemy in battle.

The delegation had arrived in Peking two days earlier. Liu Hsiang-ping, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Public Health; Lin Li-yun, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee; and Chu Hui-fen, Alternate Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and a leading member of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China, gave a banquet on May 4 in the Great Hall of the People to warmly welcome the comrades-in-arms and sisters from a heroic land.

In her toast, Liu Hsiang-ping praised the heroic south Vietnamese women who, joining the people of the whole country in following the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people, and in holding high the banner of **Firm resolve to fight**

and win, have made immortal contributions to defeating the U.S. aggressors after protracted, arduous and bloody battles in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. By their great revolutionary spirit of defying brute force and daring to fight, the heroic south Vietnamese brothers and sisters have set an example for the Chinese people, including women, she said.

Nguyen Thi Dinh in her toast said: In the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism and colonialism, the women and other people of Viet Nam and China have always fought shoulder to shoulder and established a profound friendship that was praised by our beloved Uncle Ho as: **Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers.**

More than 1,000 women from all walks of life in the Chinese capital held a rally on May 6 to warmly welcome the south Vietnamese women comrades-in-arms.

Fu Yu-fang, Chairman of the Peking Women's Federation, and delegation leader Nguyen Thi Dinh spoke at the rally. After their speeches, silk banners were exchanged between the rally and the delegation.

After visiting a P.L.A. tank unit in Peking, the delegation left for Shanghai on May 6 where it received a warm welcome.

The delegation left Shanghai on May 9 and made a special trip to Shaoshan, the native place of Chairman Mao.

On May 12, Teng Ying-chao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met the south Vietnamese sisters and had a very cordial and friendly conversation with them.

The delegation left Peking for home on May 14.

Opening Ceremony of Selective Trials for Seventh Asian Games

The selective trials of the People's Republic of China for the Seventh Asian Games opened at a ceremony in Peking on May 7. More

than 1,800 persons including sportsmen from various parts of the country and Taiwan-born sportsmen residing overseas as well as people of the capital attended.

The Taiwan-born sportsmen residing in the United States of America and Japan were greeted with warm applause when they entered the meeting hall.

Leading members of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission of the People's Republic of China, the All-China Sports Federation and other departments concerned were present on the occasion.

The Seventh Asian Games will be held in September in Teheran. Thanks to the efforts by justice-upholding friends of Asian sports circles, the council meeting of the Asian Games Federation adopted a decision on November 16, 1973 in Teheran on the affirmation of the legitimate rights of the All-China Sports Federation and the expulsion of the so-called sports organization of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the Asian Games Federation. The All-China Sports Federation declared in a statement the following day: As a member of the Asian Games Federation, it will send a sports delegation to take part in the Seventh Asian Games to be held in Teheran in September 1974 and will hold nationwide selections for the games. The statement also said: "We welcome the sportsmen of Taiwan Province to take part in the national selections to enable them to participate in the Seventh Asian Games together with sportsmen of other provinces and municipalities of China."

Addressing the opening ceremony on behalf of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission of the People's Republic of China and the All-China Sports Federation, Chuang Tse-tung first of all extended a warm welcome to the sportsmen from all parts of the country, particularly to those Taiwan-born sportsmen residing overseas who had come back for the selective trials.

He said: China's participation in the Seventh Asian Games marks an

important victory won by the people of China and other Asian countries after waging a joint struggle. "This victory," he added, "fully reflects the common desire of the people of Asia and other parts of the world to make contacts and strengthen friendship with the Chinese people, a desire no force whatsoever can forestall." He expressed sincere thanks to the people, sports organizers and sportsmen in Asia and other parts of the world for their support to China.

Chuang Tse-tung paid tribute to the government, people and sports organizations of Iran for their outstanding success in organizing the Seventh Asian Games.

Influenced by the reactionary forces of hegemonism, Chuang Tse-tung noted in his speech, a tiny handful of people in a few international sports organizations were trying to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" in a futile attempt to prevent Chinese sportsmen from participation in certain events in the Seventh Asian Games, thus barring them from friendly competition with sportsmen of other countries. He declared: "There is only one China in the world, that is, the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is a province of China. The Chinese people and sportsmen firmly oppose the attempts by any international sports organization to create 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan.' The All-China Sports Federation is the sole legal national sports organization representing the sports organizers and sportsmen throughout China. The associations of the various sports events of the People's Republic of China are the only organizations entitled to represent the whole of China in the various international federations concerned."

Chuang Tse-tung added emphatically: "If only certain international sports organizations face the facts, expel the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restore to China its legitimate rights, the sports organizations and sportsmen of China are willing to cooperate with them."

(Continued on p. 29.)

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Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's Speech

(Excerpts)

HIS Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is a well-acquainted and respected friend of the Chinese people. Prime Minister Bhutto has visited China on many occasions and made great contributions to the constant growth of the friendship between China and Pakistan. We are very glad that Prime Minister Bhutto has now come to China on a friendly visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai, thus providing an opportunity for us to renew our friendship and exchange views on questions of common interest. Yesterday, Chairman Mao Tsetung met Prime Minister Bhutto and they had a conversation in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. I am entrusted by Premier Chou En-lai to be host at this banquet tonight and, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express our warm welcome to His Excellency the Prime Minister and Begum Bhutto and the other distinguished guests from Pakistan.

Pakistan is a beautiful and richly endowed country. The people of Pakistan are an industrious and valiant people. They have waged protracted and heroic struggles to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan have in the last two years and more made strenuous efforts with full confidence to heal the wounds of war, strengthen internal unity and develop the national economy and have achieved remarkable successes in this regard. In international affairs, Pakistan has constantly strengthened unity, co-operation and mutual support and assistance with other Third World countries and actively supported the people of Asian and African countries in their just struggles against imperialism and hegemonism. The Second Islamic Summit Conference held not long ago in Lahore, which was presided over by Prime Minister Bhutto, made a new contribution to the Third World countries' cause of unity against hegemonism. It is particularly noteworthy that, in the last two years the Government and people of Pakistan, in seeking a settlement of the questions left over by the war, have upheld principle, persisted in struggle and time and again taken the initiative to put forward reasonable proposals and ultimately brought about the return to their homeland of all prisoners of war who were long detained unwarrantedly. This is an important victory for the struggle of the Government and people of Pakistan, and it is also an achievement scored through

the common efforts of the justice-upholding countries and people of the whole world, and those of the Third World in particular. I wish to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our high esteem and heartfelt congratulations to His Excellency Prime Minister Bhutto and the fraternal people of Pakistan.

Of late, new developments have taken place in the situation in South Asia. We are glad to see that agreements have been reached among the countries concerned of the subcontinent, which have led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent. The Chinese Government welcomes these developments. It is our hope that the countries of the subcontinent will live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty. The Chinese people have always cherished profound sentiments for the people of the South Asian countries. We are ready to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the subcontinent on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and further enhance our traditional friendship with their people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the peoples of South Asia in their struggle against hegemonism and expansionism.

At present, the world situation is developing in a direction more and more favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this torrential tide of history is pounding away at imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and great-power hegemonism all over the world. All the basic contradictions in the contemporary world are constantly sharpening, and the whole world is in turbulence. In order to extricate themselves from deep crises at home and abroad, the superpowers are stepping up their contention for hegemony and resorting to aggression, interference, subversion, control and plunder everywhere. But this in no way indicates their strength: on the contrary, it reflects their dire predicament. In brazenly instigating the war to dismember a sovereign state two years ago, social-imperialism aroused the common indignation of the people of the world and thoroughly

revealed its ugly features as an aggressor and expansionist as well as its essential weakness. The special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which concluded in success recently, once again demonstrated the growing strength of the Third World and the continuous decline of the superpowers. The development of history will certainly continue to prove that it is not the one or two superpowers, but the increasingly awakening peoples of the world, that determine the direction of advance of mankind.

China and Pakistan are close neighbours, and there exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. We are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. For years, our two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each

other in the struggle against hegemonism and expansionism. Our friendship has stood the test of great storms. China-Pakistan friendship is by no means based on expediency but is an established policy of our two countries. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure, and will never forget, the support and help the Government and people of Pakistan have given us in many respects over the years. Our Pakistan friends may rest assured that, come what may, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support Pakistan in her struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against hegemonism and expansionism, and firmly support the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right to self-determination.

Prime Minister Bhutto's Speech

(Excerpts)

THIS is not my first visit to China. The relations between China and Pakistan are well established and have stood the test of time. I have here a speech to reiterate our friendly relations and to review the general international situation. But I will depart from the speech and make some pertinent observations. I am doing this so that all you distinguished friends will appreciate the reasonableness of our position and the justness of our cause.

Yesterday when I had the honour and privilege of meeting Chairman Mao Tsetung, we undertook an exercise in reviewing the international situation and, in particular, in discussing the situation prevailing in the subcontinent and in our region. We informed the Chairman that Pakistan would now like to close the chapter of the past and embark on a new chapter of warm and friendly relations among the states of the subcontinent. We told him that the people of Pakistan had struggled relentlessly to safeguard the national integrity and state sovereignty and that under no circumstances the people of Pakistan will ever prepare to compromise on recognized international principle of state sovereignty. We informed him that with the regular will of our people and the support of friendly countries and the support of the People's Republic of China, in particular, the legacy and the aftermath of the December 1971 war had been removed, and that now we are looking forward to a period of co-operation

and understanding among the states of the subcontinent and all our neighbours on the basis of sovereign equality and non-interference. We informed him that Pakistan will strive to have good relations with all its neighbours and that very soon we will establish diplomatic relations with Bangladesh and with India. We told him that Pakistan has good relations with the great powers and with the states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, and that now our main emphasis will be to strengthen the forces of normalization and peace in the subcontinent.

Chairman Mao Tsetung welcomed our efforts and said that the people of China and the Government of China would also like to see the normalization of relations in the subcontinent and for peace to return in that tormented subcontinent and for confrontation to end.

The sentiment had been reiterated by you, Mr. Vice-Premier, in your speech tonight when you have said of the new development that have taken place in the situation of South Asia. You went on to say we are glad to see that agreements have been reached among the countries concerned of the subcontinent. You went on to say it is our hope that countries of the subcontinent will live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty. You said further the Chinese people have always cherished profound sentiments for the people

of the South Asian countries and that you are ready to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the subcontinent on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and further enhance your traditional friendship with the peoples of the subcontinent. You ended by saying that the Chinese Government and people resolutely support the peoples of South Asia in their struggle against hegemonism and expansionism.

In view of the conversation we had with Chairman Mao Tsetung on the friendly and co-operative relations among the states of the subcontinent in my meeting with him yesterday, and in view of the discussion we had with Premier Chou En-lai on the same subject, and taking into account the sentiment you expressed tonight, Mr. Vice-Premier, on good-neighbourly and friendly relations between the states of the subcontinent, I am really baffled and puzzled to see that the representative of India left this banquet tonight. It neither bothers you, nor bothers me, if a representative of any country wants to display such great courtesy. But what troubles us is that when we are promoting good relations, friendship, when we are advocating the end of confrontation, and when we are striving to achieve co-operation and when there were good agreements between us on these objectives that the representative of India should choose to leave this banquet. Does India want conflict and confrontation instead of co-operation and friendly relations? If India wants that, then I can tell you that Pakistan is prepared for it.

Peace cannot be a one-sided effort, friendship cannot be a unilateral endeavour. If there should be friendship and co-operation, it must be based on reciprocity and on understanding. We are prepared to give that understanding. It is necessary for the states in the subcontinent to also respond to that degree of understanding and co-operation. If the representative of India left because the Vice-Premier said that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support Pakistan in the struggle in defence of national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity and against hegemonism and expansionism, and firmly support the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right to self-determination, that is also something which I cannot understand because for the Chinese Government to support the territorial integrity of not only Pakistan but of any member state is a responsibility of all members of the United Nations. It is the responsibility of the entire international community. And if the representative of India left because the Chinese Vice-Premier said that China supports the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determi-

nation, that is also a mark of unreality because not only the People's Republic of China but most of the countries of the world have supported the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and that is not a new development in our state relations.

Distinguished guests, are we to conclude that India wants the further dismemberment of Pakistan and that because the Chinese Vice-Premier said that China will support the territorial integrity of Pakistan that he chose to leave the banquet hall? Or are we to conclude that the Indian representative left the banquet hall because the Vice-Premier reiterated China's support for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir? Does the Indian representative not know that there are United Nations resolutions on the right of self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir? Does the Indian representative not know that the Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had given his pledge for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir? Does the Indian representative not know that in the Simla Agreement concluded in July 1972 India recognized that the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is Pakistan's position and that the problem of Jammu and Kashmir has to be settled according to the recognized principles of international law?

But I can now assure you, distinguished guests, that in spite of this intemperate and rather irresponsible attitude, the Government and people of Pakistan will make every effort to strive for a just and equitable peace in the subcontinent. And in this effort to reach a just and lasting peace based on principles, I might even be prepared to call the Prime Minister of India my sister. I might even be prepared to call her my elder sister. But my people, the people of Pakistan, will never call India their big brother. That peace must be built on full equality, without hegemony, without domination and on the basis of principles for the settlement of dispute. And there is no richer principle, there is no more lasting principle than the principle of self-determination.

The people of Pakistan and the people of China know each other. They are good friends and I can assure you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Vice-Premier, that, like in the past, in the future also, you will see that the people of Pakistan will develop this friendship in the cause of world peace based on justice.

I am sorry for having taken so much of your time. It would not have been necessary, if our friend from India had not chosen to walk out rather irresponsibly and stupidly.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

AT the invitation of His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 11 to May 14, 1974.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan and members of his delegation were accorded a warm and cordial reception by the Government and people of China, reflecting the close understanding and the profound traditional friendship that exist between the two Governments and peoples.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan met Chairman Mao Tsetung, and they had a cordial and friendly conversation. Prime Minister Bhutto conveyed to the great leader of the Chinese people the profound admiration of the people of Pakistan for the progress achieved by the people of China in various fields of national reconstruction under his leadership. Prime Minister Bhutto praised China for consistently upholding in international affairs the principles that states, irrespective of their size or strength, should respect sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence and strictly refrain from interference in internal affairs as well as for the contribution she had made in this connection.

Prime Minister Bhutto also expressed to Chairman Mao Tsetung the gratitude of the Government and people of Pakistan for China's steadfast and principled support on the questions of withdrawal of forces from the territories occupied in the 1971 India-Pakistan war and the unconditional release and repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war as required under the resolutions of the United Nations and the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Prime Minister Bhutto held wide-ranging discussions in a sincere and friendly atmosphere on the current international situation and the developments in South Asia as well as on further developing the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. Both sides expressed full satisfaction with the results of the talks.

Both sides agreed that at the present time the international situation was developing in a direction favourable to peoples everywhere and unfavourable to imperialism and hegemonism. The Third World had awakened and was playing an ever more important role in international affairs. The struggle of the peoples of the Third World for complete political independence and their demand for a change in the present iniquitous world economic order were becoming an irresistible historical trend.

In this context the two sides welcomed in particular the results of the recently concluded special session of the United Nations General Assembly as constituting an important milestone in the struggle of the Third World countries for the establishment of a just international economic order in the fields of controlling their own natural resources, reforming international trade, reforming the monetary system and principles of economic assistance to the developing countries, and considered that the session had made a positive contribution to strengthening the unity of the developing countries and promoting the struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism, and against hegemonism in particular. Both sides expressed their determination to continue their efforts, in co-operation with other states, to bring to an end the exploitation of the Third World and to establish a new world economic order based on equality and mutual benefit.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan informed the Premier of China of the results of the historic Second Islamic Summit Conference, held in Lahore in February 1974, which was attended by heads of state or high-ranking officials of thirty-six countries of Asia and Africa, representing a population of more than five hundred million. The main aims of the conference were to support the just struggle of the Arab people against Zionism and following the recent sharp increase in prices of certain commodities to explore the possibilities of enabling the Third World countries to speed up their economic development through greater mutual co-operation on the basis of individual and collective self-reliance. Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the positive results achieved by the Islamic Summit and especially the increasingly important role played by the Islamic countries in the struggle of the Third World against colonialism, imperialism, expansionism and exploitation imposed by a system of unequal economic relations.

The two sides expressed firm support for the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their just struggle to win and defend national independence, safeguard state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect their national resources. They firmly support the Indochinese peoples in their just struggle against foreign aggression and for national liberation. They firmly support the just struggle carried on by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. They firmly support the Korean people's just cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. They firmly support the Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli Zionist aggression and for the

recovery of the occupied territories and the full restitution of the national rights of the people of Palestine. They firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggles against Portuguese colonial rule and against racism in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The two sides noted with pleasure that agreements had been reached among the countries concerned of the South Asian subcontinent, which had led to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council and thus created favourable conditions for the normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent. The two sides hoped that the countries of the subcontinent would live in friendship in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty, and they expressed readiness to develop good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the subcontinent on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

While welcoming the positive developments that had taken place on the South Asian subcontinent, the two sides emphasized the need for continuing vigilance against tendencies towards hegemonism and expansionism and assertion of claims to positions of dominance or spheres of influence, and reiterated their determination to oppose such tendencies and guard against foreign interference, aggression and subversive and disruptive activities. The Chinese Premier reiterated that the Chinese Government and people would, as always, firmly support the Government and people of Pakistan in their just struggle in defence of national independence,

state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and firmly support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for the right of self-determination.

The Chinese side warmly acclaimed the fact that, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the people of Pakistan had achieved outstanding successes both in the internal and external spheres over the past two years by fully safeguarding Pakistan's political independence and state sovereignty, opposing foreign interference, healing the wounds of war, strengthening internal unity and developing the national economy. At the same time, the Pakistan Government had, during this period, progressively strengthened its friendship and solidarity with the Islamic countries and other countries of the Third World.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan stated that Pakistan would continue to give full support to the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate the Taiwan Province which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. He expressed his conviction that this struggle would be crowned with complete victory. The Chinese side thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for the support and help they had given China in many respects over the years.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the visit of Prime Minister Bhutto to China had made a significant contribution to the further consolidation of the close relations between their two Governments and to deepening the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistani peoples.

Peking, May 14, 1974

Special Session of U.N. General Assembly

Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order

THE Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was adopted on May 1 at the plenary meeting of the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development. It reads:

The General Assembly adopts the following declaration:

Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order

We, the members of the United Nations,

Having convened a special session of the General Assembly to study for the first time the problems of raw materials and development, devoted to the consideration of the most important economic problems facing the world community,

Bearing in mind the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to promote the economic advancement and social progress of all peoples,

Solemnly proclaim our united determination to work urgently for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all states, irrespective of their economic and social system which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development in peace and justice for present and future generations.

1. The greatest and most significant achievement during the last decades has been the independence from

colonial and alien domination of a large number of peoples and nations which has enabled them to become members of the community of free peoples. Technological progress has also been made in all spheres of economic activities in the last three decades, thus providing a solid potential for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the remaining vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and all the peoples involved. The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world population, account for only 30 per cent of the world's income. It has proved impossible to achieve an even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen in a system which was established at a time when most of the developing countries did not even exist as independent states and which perpetuates inequality.

2. The present international economic order is in direct conflict with current developments in international political and economic relations. Since 1970, the world economy has experienced a series of grave crises which have had severe repercussions, especially on the developing countries because of their generally greater vulnerability to external economic impulses. The developing world has become a powerful factor that makes its influence felt in all fields of international activity. These irreversible changes in the relationship of forces in the world necessitate the active, full and equal participation of the developing countries in the formulation and application of all decisions that concern the international community.

3. All these changes have thrust into prominence the reality of interdependence of all the members of the world community. Current events have brought into sharp focus the realization that the interests of the developed countries and the interests of the developing countries can no longer be isolated from each other, that there is close interrelationship between the prosperity of the developed countries and the growth and development of the developing countries, and that the prosperity of the international community as a whole depends upon the prosperity of its constituent parts. International co-operation for development is the shared goal and common duty of all countries. Thus the political, economic and social well-being of present and future generations depends more than ever on co-operation between all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of the disequilibrium that exists between them.

4. The new international economic order should be founded on full respect for the following principles:

(a) Sovereign equality of states, self-determination of all peoples, inadmissibility of the acquisition of ter-

ritories by force, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states;

(b) Broadest co-operation of all the members states of the international community, based on equity, whereby the prevailing disparities in the world may be banished and prosperity secured for all;

(c) Full and effective participation on the basis of equality of all countries in the solving of world economic problems in the common interest of all countries, bearing in mind the necessity to ensure the accelerated development of all the developing countries, while devoting particular attention to the adoption of special measures in favour of the least developed, land-locked and island developing countries as well as those developing countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities, without losing sight of the interests of other developing countries;

(d) Every country has the right to adopt the economic and social system that it deems to be the most appropriate for its own development and not to be subjected to discrimination of any kind as a result;

(e) Full permanent sovereignty of every state over its natural resources and all economic activities. In order to safeguard these resources, each state is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation with means suitable to its own situation, including the right to nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals, this right being an expression of the full permanent sovereignty of the state. No state may be subjected to economic, political or any other type of coercion to prevent the free and full exercise of this inalienable right;

(f) All states, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or apartheid have the right to restitution and full compensation for the exploitation and depletion of, and damages to, the natural and all other resources of those states, territories and peoples;

(g) Regulation and supervision of the activities of trans-national corporations by taking measures in the interest of the national economies of the countries where such trans-national corporations operate on the basis of the full sovereignty of those countries;

(h) Right of the developing countries and the peoples of territories under colonial and racial domination and foreign occupation to achieve their liberation and to regain effective control over their natural resources and economic activities;

(i) Extending of assistance to developing countries, peoples and territories under colonial and alien domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination or apartheid or which are subjected to economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce them in order to obtain from them the subordination of the exercise of their sovereign rights and to secure from them advantages of any kind, and to neo-colonialism in all its forms and which have established or are endeavouring to establish effective control over their natural resources

and economic activities that have been or are still under foreign control;

(j) Just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactures, capital goods and equipment imported by them with the aim of bringing about sustained improvement in their unsatisfactory terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy;

(k) Extension of active assistance to developing countries by the whole international community, free of any political or military conditions;

(l) Ensuring that one of the main aims of the reformed international monetary system shall be the promotion of the development of the developing countries and the adequate flow of real resources to them;

(m) Improving the competitiveness of natural materials facing competition from synthetic substitutes;

(n) Preferential and non-reciprocal treatment for developing countries wherever feasible, in all fields of international economic co-operation, wherever feasible;

(o) Securing favourable conditions for the transfer of financial resources to developing countries;

(p) To give to the developing countries access to the achievements of modern science and technology, to promote the transfer of technology and the creation of indigenous technology for the benefit of the developing countries in forms and in accordance with procedures which are suited to their economies;

(q) Necessity for all states to put an end to the waste of natural resources, including food products;

(r) The need for developing countries to concentrate all their resources for the cause of development;

(s) Strengthening — through individual and collective actions — of mutual economic, trade, financial and

technical co-operation among the developing countries mainly on a preferential basis;

(t) Facilitating the role which producers associations may play, within the framework of international co-operation, and in pursuance of their aims, inter alia, assisting in promotion of sustained growth of world economy and accelerating development of developing countries.

5. The unanimous adoption of the international development strategy for the second development decade was an important step in the promotion of international economic co-operation on a just and equitable basis. The accelerated implementation of obligations and commitments assumed by the international community within the framework of the strategy, particularly those concerning imperative development needs of developing countries, would contribute significantly to the fulfilment of the aims and objectives of the present declaration.

6. The United Nations as a universal organization should be capable of dealing with problems of international economic co-operation in a comprehensive manner and ensuring equally the interests of all countries. It must have an even greater role in the establishment of a new international economic order. The charter of economic rights and duties of states, for the preparation of which this Declaration will provide an additional source of inspiration, will constitute a significant contribution in this respect. All the states members of the United Nations are therefore called upon to exert maximum efforts with a view to securing the implementation of this Declaration, which is one of the principal guarantees for the creation of better conditions for all peoples to reach a life worthy of human dignity.

7. This Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order shall be one of the most important bases of economic relations between all peoples and all nations.

Programme of Action on the Establishment Of a New International Economic Order

THE special session of the United Nations General Assembly to study the problems of raw materials and development on May 1 adopted the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. Following are its excerpts.

The preamble of the Programme says:

"In view of the continuing severe economic imbalance in the relations between developed and developing countries, and in the context of the constant and continuing aggravation of the imbalance of the economies of the developing countries and the con-

sequent need for the mitigation of their current economic difficulties, urgent and effective measures need to be taken by the international community to assist the developing countries, while devoting particular attention to the least developed, land-locked and island developing countries and those developing countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities leading to serious retardation of development processes.

"With a view to ensuring the application of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, it will be necessary to adopt

and implement within a specified period a programme of action of unprecedented scope and to bring about maximum economic co-operation and understanding among all states, particularly between developed and developing countries, based on the principles of dignity and sovereign equality."

The Programme of Action stipulates that all efforts should be made "to put an end to all forms of foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid, colonial, neo-colonial and alien domination and exploitation through the exercise of permanent sovereignty over natural resources"; "to take measures for the recovery, exploitation, development, marketing and distribution of natural resources, particularly of developing countries, to serve their national interests, to promote collective self-reliance among them, and to strengthen mutually beneficial international economic co-operation with a view to bringing about the accelerated development of developing countries"; "to facilitate the functioning, and to further the aims, of producers associations, including their joint marketing arrangements, orderly commodity trading, improvement in export income of producing developing countries and in their terms of trade, sustained growth of world economy for the benefit of all"; "to evolve a just and equitable relationship between prices of raw materials, primary commodities, semi-manufactured and manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the raw materials, primary commodities, food, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and capital equipment imported by them and to work for a link between the prices of exports of developing countries and the prices of their imports from developed countries"; "to take measures to reverse the continued trend of stagnation or decline in the real price of several commodities exported by developing countries"; "to take measures to promote the processing of raw materials in the producer developing countries."

On the question of food, the Programme stipulates that efforts should be made "to take full account of specific problems of developing countries, particularly in times of food shortages, in the international efforts connected with the food problem"; and efforts should be made "by developed countries in evolving their policies relating to production, stocks, imports and exports of food to take full account of the interests of developing importing countries which cannot afford high prices for their imports, and developing exporting countries which need increased market opportunities for their exports."

On the question of general trade, the Programme stipulates that all efforts should be made to take concrete steps for the amelioration of terms of trade of developing countries and for the elimination of chronic trade deficits of developing countries. These steps include: "Improved access to markets in developed countries through the progressive removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers and of restrictive business prac-

tics"; "where products of developing countries compete with the domestic production in developed countries, each developed country should facilitate the expansion of imports from developing countries and provide a fair and reasonable opportunity to the developing countries to share in the growth of the market." Multilateral trade negotiations between developed and developing countries should be guided by the principles of non-reciprocity and preferential treatment of developing countries and efforts should be made to seek sustained and additional benefits for the international trade of developing countries, so as to achieve a substantial increase in their foreign exchange earnings, diversification of their exports and acceleration of the rate of their economic growth.

The Programme points out that efforts should be made to reform the international monetary system with the following objectives: "Measures to check the inflation already experienced by the developed countries, to prevent it from being transferred to developing countries"; "measures to eliminate the instability of the international monetary system, in particular the uncertainty of the exchange rates especially as it affects adversely the trade in commodities"; "maintenance of the real value of the currency reserves of the developing countries by preventing their erosion from inflation and exchange rate depreciation of reserve currencies"; "full and effective participation of developing countries in all phases of decision-making for the formulation of an equitable and durable monetary system."

The Programme urges that a series of urgent measures be taken to finance the development of developing countries and to meet the balance-of-payment crises in the developing world. Among them are: "Appropriate urgent measures, including international action, to be taken to mitigate adverse consequences for the current and future development of developing countries arising from the burden of external debt contracted on hard terms"; "debt renegotiation on a case-by-case basis with a view to concluding agreements on debt cancellation, moratorium, rescheduling, or interest subsidization"; "appropriate steps to be taken to give priority to the least developed, land-locked and island developing countries and to the countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities, in the availability of loans for development purposes which should include more favourable terms and conditions."

The Programme continues that measures should be taken to encourage the industrialization of the developing countries and all efforts should be made "to formulate an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology corresponding to needs and conditions prevalent in developing countries."

The Programme lays particular stress on regulation and control over the activities of trans-national corporations. It stipulates that all efforts should be

(Continued on p. 26.)

Mighty Ideological Weapon in the Struggle Against Revisionism

— A study of Lenin's "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"

by Hsin Feng

IMPERIALISM, *the Highest Stage of Capitalism* — this brilliant work by Lenin was written amidst the violent struggle against the revisionism of the Second International to answer the needs of the great historical era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

Capitalism had made a transition to the stage of imperialism at the turn of the century. Imperialism had caused all of capitalism's contradictions to sharpen beyond measure and the social revolution of the proletariat to become an immediate question of practice, its advent hastened by the outbreak of World War I. A tit-for-tat struggle took place in the international communist movement at that time between the Marxist line represented by Lenin and the revisionist line represented by Bernstein and Kautsky on the approach to imperialism and to the question of war and revolution. Lenin was the greatest standard-bearer in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International.

In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, a quintessential work criticizing revisionism, Lenin analysed the essential nature, special features and contradictions of imperialism as well as its connections with revisionism, noting that the deluge of the revisionist ideas of the Second International was by no means accidental but a product of the era of imperialism. By bribing the upper stratum of the working class with the high profits it had grabbed from the colonies and dependencies in the hope of maintaining its reactionary rule, the monopoly capitalist class had caused a split in the workers' movement. Lenin criticized Kautsky's reactionary fallacies of apologizing for imperialism, and thoroughly exposed his ugly social-imperialist features. This work has been a militant programme guiding the proletariat of the whole world to adhere to Marxism and oppose revisionism.

This work by Lenin was published half a century ago. The world situation has undergone great changes since then. But, as Chairman Mao has often taught us, today we are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution and the fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated. Lenin's theories summed up in this work through his criticism of the revisionism of the Second International remain to this day our mighty ideological weapon to criticize social-imperialism and oppose Soviet modern revisionism.

Based on the fundamental principles of Marxism, Lenin gathered an enormous amount of factual data to make a scientific analysis of imperialism, which, he pointed out, is a special stage of capitalism. In other words, imperialism is monopoly capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Lenin completely dismissed Kautsky's definition of imperialism as a rupture from Marxism. According to Kautsky, imperialism is not a stage of capitalist development but a policy "preferred" by finance capital, and as such, it can be one thing or another. It follows, then, that monopolies in economics can coexist side by side with non-annexationist, non-violent policies.

Lenin pointed out: "Kautsky divorces imperialist politics from imperialist economics, he divorces monopoly in politics from monopoly in economics in order to pave the way for his vulgar bourgeois reformism, such as 'disarmament,' 'ultraimperialism' and similar nonsense. The whole purpose and significance of this theoretical falsity is to obscure the most profound contradictions of imperialism and thus justify the theory of 'unity' with the apologists of imperialism, the outright social-chauvinists and opportunists." (*Imperialism and the Split in Socialism.*)

The economic essence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Domestic ruling monopolies growing into international monopolies by exports of capital and expansion of economic influence are bound to exercise hegemonism and even resort to war so as to carve up the world in accordance with their respective strengths. As long as there is monopoly rule, the fundamental policy of the imperialist countries will not change. Lenin, therefore, said: "A 'fight' against the policy of the trusts and banks that does not affect the basis of the economics of the trusts and banks is nothing more than bourgeois reformism and pacifism, the benevolent and innocent expression of pious wishes." This basic principle expounded by Lenin that the economic base of imperialism determines its policy not only applies to capital-imperialism but to social-imperialism as well.

State Monopoly Capitalism — Economic Base of Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism

Like capital-imperialism, the economic base of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is also monopoly capitalism.

Prior to the restoration of capitalism, the working class in the Soviet Union took possession of the means of production in the form of state ownership, the nature of which is determined by the nature of state power. **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."** Having usurped Soviet state power and frenziedly pushed ahead with a revisionist line, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, the type of the Hitlerite dictatorship of German fascism. Basically, the nature of state ownership changes with the change in the nature of state power. When socialist state ownership has been changed into ownership by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, the socialist state-owned economy too becomes the state monopoly capitalist economy.

The working class in the Soviet state-owned enterprises is now completely in the down-trodden position of enslavement. Enterprise managers are entitled to "hold, use and dispose of" these establishments' properties; they have the right to "lease," "transfer" and "sell" the "idle" means of production of their enterprises; they are allowed to "recruit and dismiss workers" on their own authority and fire workers from their plants as they like. The relationship there between the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class and the workers is entirely one of exploiters and exploited, the rulers and the ruled.

Extortion by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is extreme. It robs the people by both force and guile, gets free possession of huge amounts of wealth created by the workers of these enterprises through profits and taxes and greedily drains the working people by giving itself high wages, big bonuses and other extra income under a host of different names. Whereas an ordinary worker's monthly pay is only some 60 to 70 rubles, salary for a member of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class can go as high as several thousand rubles, a difference of from scores of times to a hundred times.

In essence, there is not much difference between the state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union and that in capital-imperialist countries. The only difference is that the former, transformed from socialist state ownership, is more intensified in the degree of concentration and monopolization. State monopoly capitalism is the base of the dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class and the economic root cause of the external aggression and expansion by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and hegemonism that it pushes.

Why has Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, under the cloak of "aid" and "friendship," expanded its exports of capital and commodities to many countries for high profits? Why has it contended as well as colluded with U.S. imperialism in a bid for world hegemony? Why has it, making a feint to the east while attacking in the west, stepped up its contention in

Europe and the Middle East and its expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place its hands can reach? Why has it invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, plundered the East European countries, massed troops along the Chinese border and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries?

All this originated from the economic nature of social-imperialism. Its foreign policy is the continuation of the domestic policy of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class. As long as the rule of the Soviet revisionist monopoly capitalist class and the economic nature of social-imperialism remain unchanged, its policy will not change. The Soviet revisionist policies must be observed in the light of the economic nature of social-imperialism. It is impossible to understand the nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism if we separate its economic base from its policies. Chairman Mao points out: **"When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom."** (*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.*) This thesis well applies to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Decadence of the Two Superpowers

Monopoly capitalism inevitably tends to become parasitic and decadent. Lenin pointed out: **"Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations — all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism."** When in the second decade of this century Kautsky talked nonsense such as capitalism had greater vitality than half a century earlier, he was prettifying imperialism pure and simple.

One major manifestation of the parasitic and decadent nature of imperialism is that it deliberately retards the development of science and technology in certain aspects. At the stage where free competition dominated, capitalists found it necessary to adopt the latest technology in order to make super profits; otherwise, they would go bankrupt in competition. At the stage where monopoly is dominant, capitalists who are able to get monopoly profits to some extent lose their drive for technological improvements and even deliberately prevent progress in that field.

Dwelling on the decadent tendency of capitalism, Lenin also pointed out that as the growth of capitalism became more and more uneven, the decadence of a few countries which were the richest in capital became more obvious. The same is true since World War II. The United States, for one, is a country noted for its decadence. Its economy has all along relied on militarizing the national economy to prop it up; while the proportion of arms production in various economic branches rises day by day, civilian industries lag behind. Its rate

of industrial growth and of the growth of labour productivity is lower than in other capitalist countries, like Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany. Crises have broken out on many occasions in the post-war period and the dollar has been devalued again and again. Even the U.S. ruling group also has had to deplore the fact that its good old days are gone and the position of the United States has gone down greatly.

The other superpower, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, fares no better. To contend with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, it too has intensified efforts day by day to militarize the national economy and switched large amounts of manpower, material and financial resources to arms production. There is a great discrepancy between the military expenditure figures published by Soviet revisionism and actual figures. It is estimated that Soviet revisionism's real military expenses in 1972 accounted for approximately one third of its budgetary expenditure. Its gross national product is about half that of the United States, yet its military expenditures are quite close to those of the United States. Huge military outlays and the malignant expansion of the arms industry have caused the backwardness of its civilian industry, especially the consumer goods industry, and prolonged stagnation in agriculture. At present, the rate of increase of its total industrial output value is continuously descending. There are acute shortages of market supplies and grains, great scarcity of commodities and high prices. Its financial situation is constantly deteriorating while the national debts, both internal and external, increase daily. To cope with the economic mess at home, Soviet revisionism pleads to capitalist countries for loans and auctions off its natural resources. But, as the Chinese saying goes, this is like quenching a thirst with poison and will only further sharpen the contradiction.

The two superpowers, which seem so overbearing and stretch out their hands everywhere and contend with each other in many ways, are ridden with internal contradictions and so weak and fragile that they cannot withstand any trouble. The Czechoslovak incident revealed Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for what it is; the "oil weapon" had U.S. imperialism on tenterhooks.

Contradictions Caused by Imperialism and Social-Imperialism Cannot Be "Allayed"

In saying imperialism is moribund capitalism, it means that this system has caused the various contradictions of capitalism to develop to their extreme, which is where revolution begins. Lenin sharply criticized Kautsky's notorious fallacy of "ultraimperialism." He pointed out that Kautsky was "**obscuring the profundity of the contradictions of imperialism and the inevitable revolutionary crisis to which it gives rise**" when the latter preached that the new ultraimperialist policy would effect "the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital" to replace struggles among finance capital of various countries,

and in this way, war might be prevented, armaments abolished and lasting world peace realized.

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and it is absolutely impossible that a phase of "ultraimperialism" between imperialism and socialism will appear; the collapse of imperialism means the victory of socialism. In the stage of imperialism, finance capital rule does not weaken but intensifies the differences in the tempo of development of the various sectors of the world economy. Since the balance of the relative strength has changed, under the capitalist system there is no way out except the use of force in resolving contradictions. **"Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist,' Kautsky, 'interimperialist' or 'ultraimperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars."**

When imperialist countries at a certain time superficially reach some agreement among themselves on certain questions commensurate with their relative strength, it is simply for the purpose of recognizing the status quo for the time being so as to build up strength for still greater contention in the next round. Once the balance of relative strength has changed, all kinds of "agreements" will become mere scraps of paper. Things like this were not rare occurrences between the two world wars and after World War II.

It is mainly the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, who in the world today are contending for hegemony. Armed to the teeth, these two imperialist countries contend as well as collude with each other, and their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. In propagating "military detente" and "political detente," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is doing it solely to deceive the people of the world and cover up its hegemonism. When it talks about "lasting peace," it has picked up Kautsky's fallacy of "ultraimperialism" to cover up its aggressive designs, its true colours as renegades, and prevent the people at home and the world over from making revolution. As Lenin pungently said when he was criticizing Kautsky: **"The questions as to . . . whether to go forward to the further intensification and deepening of the antagonisms which it engenders, or backwards, towards allaying these antagonisms, are fundamental questions in the critique of imperialism."**

The Soviet revisionist renegades also talk about the need to "allay" the various contradictions caused by imperialism and social-imperialism, but "great disorder on earth" has been a fact which day in and day out mercilessly gives the lie to these revisionists. Day after day they harp on "detente," but in actual fact there is sabre-rattling, whether in Europe, the Middle East or the Indian Ocean. The present focus of U.S.-Soviet contention is in Europe. Everything about the European

security conference and the conference on arms reduction in Central Europe is empty talk, the purpose of which is to spread illusions of peace among the European people. Many people in Europe have come to see this ever more clearly. When Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism clamour every day about disarmament, they are in actual fact striving every day for arms expansion. The so-called "strategic arms limitation talks" (SALT) between the Soviet Union and the United States have been going on for more than four years, but, the more they talk, the greater the number of their nuclear arms. On February 19, the same day SALT phase II resumed, Soviet revisionism for the second time launched into the Pacific new-type inter-continental ballistic missiles with MIRV warheads, as a token of its "sincerity" about nuclear disarmament. What irony!

The current international situation is one characterized by great disorder on earth—"the wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The intensified contention between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, for world hegemony has brought world intransquillity and greatly exacerbated the various basic contradictions in the contemporary world. This is a good thing for the revolutionary people, not a bad thing. It arouses and tempers the people and, in particular, has strengthened Third World unity. The people, and the people alone, are the decisive force that controls the world's destiny. Imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all lands are on the decline. **"Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun."** "Flowers fall off, do what one may." Gone for good are the days when imperialism rode roughshod over others.

Carry the Struggle Against Revisionism Through to the End

Lenin's struggle against Second International revisionism represented by Bernstein and Kautsky in the early 20th century was a prelude to the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Our struggle against modern revisionism today is the continuation of the protracted struggle between Marxism and revisionism on a worldwide scale. Lenin very aptly called Kautsky **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds,"** i.e., a social-imperialist. In other words, though Kautsky wore the cloak of Marxism and flew the banner of socialism, he was actually a running dog of imperialism, an apologist for imperialist policies of aggression and war. As social-imperialists, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is the same as Kautsky in class nature.

There is, however, some difference between the two. The former has already usurped state power and

is pushing forward with an imperialist policy through the operations of the entire state apparatus. Besides preaching the revisionist fallacies, it, with the high profits it has seized from other countries, has bought over the bourgeois exponents and labour-aristocrats in many countries (regardless if they have seized state power or not) and is pushing on with an out-and-out revisionist line in the whole world. To preserve its social-imperialist interests and realize its wild ambition of aggression and expansion, Soviet revisionism stops at nothing in committing all kinds of evil. Apart from occupation and intervention by armed force, in dealings with other countries it leaves no stone unturned to carry out subversion from within. The people of the whole world must maintain high vigilance against this. All advanced people and all Marxists are duty bound to thoroughly expose before the world's people the reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and resolutely struggle against the revisionist line it keeps pushing.

As long as imperialism and social-imperialism still exist in the world, the activities of the revisionists and counter-revolutionaries in our country invariably are in unison with the reactionaries in the international arena. That "super-spy" Lin Piao was the renegade and traitor who unsuccessfully tried to throw himself into the arms of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. He tried in vain to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. When Lin Piao attacked our criticism of the Khrushchov revisionist clique for having "gone to extremes," this showed that he and the Khrushchov revisionist clique were birds of a feather; it also showed that our militant, Marxist criticism had touched these renegades to the quick.

Lenin pointed out: **"The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."** To ward off imperialist and social-imperialist aggression and subversion, we must heighten our vigilance and strengthen our war preparedness in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive to **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony."** In the meantime, we must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against revisionism both politically and ideologically. This means that at present we must, through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, deepen our criticism of the ultra-Rightist nature of Lin Piao's revisionist line and sweep clean the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. We must earnestly study *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* so as to learn the fighting experience of how Lenin closely integrated the struggle against imperialism with that against revisionism, to grasp the sharp weapon against revisionism, to further deepen the current struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and carry the struggle against revisionism through to the end.

(A translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 3, 1974. Subheads are ours.)

"May 7" Cadre School — An Important Achievement Of the Great Cultural Revolution

UNDER the impact of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, vast numbers of revolutionary cadres, warmly responding to the call of Chairman Mao, go in groups to do manual labour for fixed periods in "May 7" cadre schools. In this forefront of the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment — they study politics, criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie, learn industrial and agricultural production and carry on mass work, bringing about tremendous achievements.

After going down to do manual labour, the vast numbers of cadres have succeeded in carrying forward the glorious tradition of the Party, strengthening their close ties with the worker and peasant masses, enhancing their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and raising their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. In a nutshell, there have been profound changes in their minds and sentiments as well as in their mental outlook. They are growing into an army of proletarian cadres, both red and expert, having integrity, capable of identifying themselves with the masses and, therefore, enjoying popular support. This is a major achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

A Deep-Going Revolution

The emergence of this socialist new thing — cadres going down to the grass-roots level to do manual labour — is a deep-going revolution against the ideology and traditions of the exploiting classes thousands of years old; it is a heavy blow to all reactionaries vainly seeking to restore capitalism in China. Naturally, both at home and abroad, it meets with frantic opposition from the class enemies. Chiming in with Soviet revisionism, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao venomously cursed and swore that cadres going to the "May 7" cadre schools was tantamount to "unemployment in a disguised form." This is in flagrant opposition to Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive of 1966, a wild attack on the socialist system in our country and shameless calumnies on the Party's proletarian cadre line and policy. This fully reveals Lin Piao's reactionary stand of **disdaining** manual labour and assuming a hostile attitude to the working people, constituting yet further criminal evidence of his betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This reactionary fallacy which Lin Piao spread to viciously slander cadres doing manual labour is akin to

This article is contributed by the Mass Criticism Group of the "May 7" Cadre School of the Tungcheng District in Peking Municipality.

what Confucius and Mencius preached over 2,000 years ago: "Those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed." This actually means that the exploiting classes are entitled to everything without working for it, while the exploited class, generation after generation, must suffer enslavement and exploitation for ever. In other words, "exploitation is justified," "oppression is justified" — an undisguised theory of the exploiting classes. Like Confucius, Lin Piao had utter contempt for manual labour and malice for the working people. As he saw it, cadres were not ordinary labourers and not the servants of the people, but overlords sitting on their backs and ruling the worker-peasant masses. If and when they were sent to do manual labour, to the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements to make revolution together with the worker-peasant masses, this was tantamount to "unemployment in a disguised form." Clearly, by spreading such reactionary ideas completely hostile to the working people, Lin Piao as well as Confucius and Mencius alike wanted retrogression and restoration. Our struggle against Lin Piao over the question of whether cadres should persist in taking part in collective productive labour and taking the "May 7" road is a continuation of the struggle waged by the masses of working people against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius thousands of years old; this struggle also constitutes an important content of the current struggle between the two classes and two lines.

"Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." Which class are cadres brought up to serve — bringing them up as servants of the people or mandarins serving the landlord and capitalist classes — is the watershed between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line on cadres and an important component part of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. It is a matter of great importance that has bearing on consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, opposing and preventing revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

The Paris Commune was the first great attempt by the proletariat to topple bourgeois rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its experience points to the fact that one important mark of proletarian dictatorship is to smash the old state apparatus through violent revolution and replace the officialdom in the service of the exploiting classes with "servants of society" who serve the people. Time and again after the Russian October Revolution, the great teacher Lenin spoke of the need to prevent the degeneration of government employees into new bourgeois elements; he warned that **"unless we wage a systematic and persevering strug-**

gle to improve it [the state apparatus] we shall perish before we manage to lay the foundation of socialism." (Plan of the Pamphlet "The Tax in Kind.") Unfortunately, what Lenin predicted has actually turned out to be the case in the Soviet Union. Having succeeded in its conspiracy to usurp the Party and state leadership, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in pursuance of a revisionist line, brought into being a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class in opposition to the broad masses of the working people and the relationship between the former and the latter is in every way one of exploitation and being exploited, of those who rule and those being ruled. This handful of renegades to the proletariat has transformed the world's first socialist state under the proletarian dictatorship into one of fascist rule under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a hell on earth for tens of millions of working people.

By summing up the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line for the entire historical period of socialism; to ensure the implementation of the Party's basic line, he has also laid down a proletarian cadre line. He has thus worked out a correct solution to the question of the kind of cadres to bring up and the way to build up the army of cadres under the conditions of socialism.

Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out: "It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism." In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he issued the brilliant "May 7" Directive and instructed that "vast numbers of cadres" should "go down to do manual labour." These are strategic measures adopted to oppose and prevent revisionism, to train proletarian cadres and bring up millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The very aim of sending cadres to do manual labour and to "May 7" cadre schools to temper themselves is to bring up an army of cadres in the three great revolutionary movements, cadres who will practise Marxism, and not revisionism, have a high level of consciousness of the two-line struggle, keep close ties with the masses, work well either at higher or lower levels, serve as "officials" or as common people, and wholeheartedly serve the people. Only with an army of cadres such as this can there be the guarantee for implementing the Party's basic line and carrying through the continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship to the end.

The reactionary fallacies spread by Lin Piao to attack cadres going down to do manual labour were closely linked with his reactionary political line of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" and

restoration. His criminal design was to have our cadres divorced from productive labour, from the worker-peasant masses, from actual class struggle and the two-line struggle, to make it difficult for them to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, perceive the two-line struggle, withstand corrosion by bourgeois ideology and make them degenerate into revisionist spiritual aristocrats to form a privileged social stratum that would be used as his tool to restore capitalism and make the Soviet tragedy repeat itself in China. However, just as the reactionary preaching "those who work with their minds govern, those who work with their hands are governed" failed to save the bankruptcy of Confucius' "return to the rites," the vicious slander that cadres going down to do manual labour is tantamount to "unemployment in a disguised form" also failed to stave off its fate, the complete ruin of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Contrary to Lin Piao's reactionary wishful thinking, these attacks and opposition by the class enemy have not in the least shaken the determination of vast numbers of cadres to go down to do manual labour; instead, with their heads high, they are striding in firm steps on the bright, broad "May 7" road.

Preserve the Fine Quality of An Ordinary Labourer

The "May 7" Cadre School of the Tungcheng District was founded in conformity with Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive and his instruction that "vast numbers of cadres" should "go down to do manual labour." In the years since its founding, we have come to the profound understanding that, basically speaking, training proletarian cadres means educating cadres to practise Marxism, not revisionism, and arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." We at the "May 7" cadre school study while engaging in production and tempering ourselves through manual labour and settling in production teams (that is, spending a certain amount of time in the rural production teams and living, labouring, studying and criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie together with the poor and lower-middle peasants), have learnt from them many things not in books, deepened our understanding of the Party's basic line and enhanced our consciousness of the two-line struggle.

With cadres going down to do manual labour and study at the "May 7" cadre schools to temper themselves, keeping in direct and constant contact with the masses, modestly learning from and consciously accepting supervision by the masses, it helps them to carry forward our Party's glorious tradition, maintain the fine quality of ordinary labourers, continually remould their world outlook, increase their ability to resist corrosion and overcome unhealthy tendencies. From their own experience after taking part in manual labour, many cadres said: "A shovel rusts if you don't clean it, a man

goes revisionist if he doesn't do manual labour"; "if someone doesn't participate in manual labour for long, he becomes more and more lazy and inactive and his heart drifts farther away from the masses"; "the arrogant air of an official disappears by half the moment he carries a hoe on his shoulder."

Doing manual labour is the important way of remoulding world outlook and preventing and opposing revisionism. An old comrade who has been in the revolutionary ranks many years enrolled in our "May 7" cadre school. During the war years, she followed Chairman Mao to make revolution, fearing neither hardship nor death. In the great movement for production in the revolutionary base areas, she went to reclaim wasteland together with the masses and was absorbed in revolution at all times with little concern for herself. Coming to a big city after liberation, she no longer was on guard against corrosion by bourgeois ideology. Influenced by the revisionist line, she spent most of her time in her office, seldom took part in manual labour and had less and less contact with the workers and peasants. The bourgeois idea of seeking pleasure gradually tainted her mind.

Educated in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, she went to the "May 7" cadre school to temper herself through manual labour and learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants. As soon as she walked into the houses of poor and lower-middle peasants redolent of her life in northern Shensi sharing weal and woe with the local inhabitants, she could not help crying out: "Old folks, I've come back to you!"

The poor and lower-middle peasants' revolutionary zeal to fight the elements moved her deeply, so much

so that she enthusiastically threw herself into such quite hard jobs as building houses and dredging rivers in winter. She studied works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in close connection with practice and consciously remoulded her world outlook. As a result, she succeeded in restoring her revolutionary vigour. Summing up from the positive and negative aspects of her own experience, she was deeply moved and said: "The revisionist line is like sugar mixed with arsenic. It's a poison that changed my ideology and made me forget the past. Once again, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line helps me regain the quality of an ordinary labourer and brings me revolutionary youthfulness."

Thanks to study and tempering at the "May 7" cadre school, many veteran cadres were able to carry forward the revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard struggle and of maintaining close ties with the masses, thus enhancing their consciousness of the two-line struggle; imbued with still greater vigour and vitality, quite a few younger ones also thought more in terms of the ideas and sentiments of the working people. When they went back to work at the end of their school period, many cadres continued reading and studying conscientiously, seeing to it that the quality of an ordinary labourer remains unchanged with the change of their posts, that the style of plain living and hard struggle remains unchanged with the changed environment. The masses say: "Cadres who have gone to 'May 7' cadre schools have greatly changed." These facts are a powerful rebuff to Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies attacking cadres going to the "May 7" cadre schools.

"Where Are the Party Committee Members' Hammers?"

— A Party committee meeting of the Peking People's Machinery Plant criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

FIVE workers put up a big-character poster "Where Are the Party Committee Members' Hammers?" after the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius got under way in the Peking People's Machinery Plant. It criticized the counter-revolutionary crimes of Lin Piao in following Confucius' "restrain oneself and return to the rites," looking down on physical labour and on the workers and peasants, and vilifying cadres going down to the grass-roots level to take part in physical labour.

Having criticized some members on the plant's Party committee for not taking part in collective productive

labour, the poster asked: "Remember the time you were elected and the workers presented each of you with a hammer? Please check what has happened to the hammers. Have you given this any thought? What you have abandoned is not just a hammer but the fine tradition of maintaining close ties between the Party and the masses and of integrating theory with practice."

Quickly expressing its welcome and support after the poster appeared, the plant's Party committee convened a special meeting of the committee. Each came with a hammer. The five writers of the poster as well as the representatives of the workers and staff who had

presented the hammers to the Party committee when it was set up were invited to take part in the meeting.

Story of the Hammers

Why the hammers? When the new Party committee was elected in September 1971 the workers specially made 17 shiny black hammers, one for each member, with the words "Never be divorced from physical labour, never be divorced from the masses" written in red paint on the handles.

Following the setting up of the new Party committee, its members criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line which tried to make the cadres divorced from reality, from the masses and from labour and make them act like overlords. The committee quickly drew up a plan for cadres to participate in collective productive labour. Most committee members had put the plan into practice and thus had kept up the fine political quality of arduous struggle of the working class. A few members who had begun well gradually slackened their ideological remoulding, beginning more and more to sit in their offices, holding meetings and listening to reports. They took less and less part in labour and drew further and further away from the masses. The poster was written to criticize this state of affairs.

Party Committee Meeting

Once the meeting began, Party committee secretary Sung Yu-hsin suggested that they restudy the following instruction of Chairman Mao: "It is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism." "Confucius always slighted physical labour, slandered the working people and worked to buttress the reactionary rule of the slave-owning class," Sung Yu-hsin said. "Waving the black banner of 'restraining oneself and returning to the rites,' Lin Piao viciously attacked the 'May 7' cadre schools and opposed cadres taking part in physical labour in order to corrode the cadres to serve his scheme of changing the Party's basic line and restoring



Plant Party committee studying articles criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

capitalism. Whether cadres persist in taking part in collective productive labour or not is a major issue of line and opposition to and prevention of revisionism." Sung Yu-hsin read out the poster written by the workers and thanked these comrades for their timely warning to the Party committee. On behalf of the committee, he accepted their criticism and promised to correct things immediately.

Committee members each spoke in turn. Deputy Party committee secretary Chu Lien-chi said: Different classes have different attitudes towards labour. Confucius looked down on the working people and ruled at one of his pupils, Fan Chih, as "a mean person" for wanting to learn farming. The working people scoffed at Confucius as an old ignoramus "whose four limbs do not toil and who does not know the difference between the five grains." Chairman Mao has pointed out that cadre participation in collective productive labour is a major question that concerns opposition to and prevention of revisionism and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lin Piao wildly attacked cadre participation in physical labour as "unemployment in a disguised form," which proved that he was a devout disciple of Confucius and exposed his crime of opposing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Chu Lien-chi, a veteran cadre who had joined the revolution during the War of Resistance Against Japan, recalled those arduous fighting years when Party cadres fought shoulder to shoulder with the people, sharing weal and woe with them, and defeated the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries with millet plus rifles. He made a self-criticism and told how, under the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line after liberation, he had gradually succumbed to bourgeois ideas of seeking ease and comfort and becoming divorced from the masses and from labour and thus made mistakes.

"Once one becomes divorced from labour," he said in a voice charged with emotion, "one gets closer and closer to revisionism and the bourgeoisie and further and further away from Marxism and the proletariat. We must never forget this lesson!"

Chu Teh-chuan, another Party committee member, said: "Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are class struggle, the two-line struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration. Bourgeois ideas of every description are poisoning the air and class enemies are using every trick to corrupt our cadres. If we are not vigilant and get divorced from labour and the masses we can easily become corroded by bourgeois ideas and stumble down the blind alley of revisionism. I once held that, as a worker-turned-cadre, I could not come to much harm in doing a little less labour. This thinking is quite wrong. Only by continuing to take part in physical labour and mixing our sweat with that of the working people can our hearts beat as one with the workers, and only in this way can we retain the fine qualities of the working class."

Li Kuang-chu, a veteran worker and another member of the committee, said: "Who is against doing labour? Who looks down on it? Confucius, Lin Piao and landlords and capitalists. We Party cadres are the people's servants and taking part in labour is what we should do."

Workers' Sincere Wish

"I'd like to say a few words." Liu Hsiang-chung, a young worker and Communist Party member, had risen to his feet and was speaking with feeling, describing how in 1971 the workers had made the hammers and presented one to each of the plant's Party commit-



Veteran worker and plant Party committee member Li Kuang-chu (second from left) and his comrades write big-character posters criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

tee members. "Were they ordinary hammers we gave you? Not at all. Each one carried with it the concern of the workers who want you to retain the fine working-class qualities and lead the masses forward for ever along the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. Later, we were deeply grieved to see some members on the committee putting away their hammers. Today, in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, we are happy to see comrades of the Party committee taking up the hammers again and making up their minds to correct their faults."

"The Party committee held an excellent meeting today," said Wang Chien-chung, one of the authors of the big-character poster. "It is excellent because it shows that in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius the Party committee members, in the spirit of consciously making revolution to remould their world outlook, are taking the lead in studying and in criticizing. Under the correct leadership of the Party committee, we must unite and fight and carry the struggle in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end!"

The meeting went on till noon when deputy secretary of the Party committee Han Yun-hung moved that the committee discuss a resolution on cadres participating in labour. It unanimously agreed to the resolution which called on all cadres in the plant, from those in the leading body to the ordinary cadres, to do at least two months of physical labour each year and specified every Thursday as labour day for cadres. To guarantee implementation, the Party committee decided to hold a "hammer meeting" every quarter to check up on cadres participating in labour under the supervision of the masses.

But the meeting did not end there, for other workers wanted to be heard. Worker Wang Chin-kuo got up and spoke. "Measures for cadres taking part in labour are necessary, but even more important is to carry them out," he said. "From experience we know it is not something that can be done smoothly and effortlessly. Cadres doing labour inevitably involves struggle." Wang Chin-kuo was followed by another worker, Sung Chia-yu, who said: "We ask cadres to take part in labour not because of a lack of manpower. What we want is for you to keep in close touch with the masses, listen to their opinions and demands and get to know what's on their minds and what they are doing so that you'll be able to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies better."

Since that meeting the members of the Party committee and other leading cadres in the plant have thoroughly improved their work style. They have gone

deep among the masses and worked with the workers and together with them criticized Lin Piao and Confucius. Recently, on days specified for cadres to do labour, the Party committee secretary and other cadres

never fail to go and work in the workshops. When the workers saw this, they said: "This is one happy outcome of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in our plant."

Chinese Representative Speaks at U.N. Industrial Development Board Meeting

THE Chinese Delegation attended the 8th Session of the United Nations Industrial Development Board which opened in Vienna on May 2. Among the subjects to be discussed at the session were preparatory work for the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and its long-range strategy. Chinese Representative Wang Yueh-yi spoke at the May 3 session.

In his speech, he pointed out: The session came at a time when the united struggle of the peoples and the Third World countries against hegemonism is in a vigorous upsurge. The broad ranks of the developing countries have been winning successive new victories in their struggle against aggression and plunder by imperialism and hegemonism. By these victories they have created favourable conditions for the development of their national industries.

He said: The developing countries feel a pressing need for industrialization because they want to develop their national economies, improve the livelihood of their people and consolidate their political independence. The development of their national industries has by no means been plain sailing. As pointed out in the Economic Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, "Imperialism is the biggest obstacle to the emancipation and progress of the developing countries." The contention between the superpowers is becoming ever fiercer, plunging the whole world into turmoil. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly the superpowers, resort to new tactics to continue the pursuit of their policies of expansion, plunder and exploitation. All this constitutes a serious impediment to the industrialization of the developing countries.

He said: "It is more necessary to be on guard against that superpower which styles itself 'the friend of the developing countries.' This superpower, while itself begging for loans from abroad to import industrial and mining equipment and technical know-how, is stretching out its sinister tentacles to a number of developing countries under the signboard of 'helping developing countries promote industrialization.'" He

added that its "aid" to developing countries has been undertaken to serve its own interests rather than those of the recipient countries and to benefit its policy of expansion and plunder rather than the recipient countries' industrial development and national defence construction. It brazenly proclaims the strategic resources of other countries "international assets" and plunders other countries at will in the name of raising their capability of utilizing these resources by their industry, he said.

"The more such industrial and mining enterprises are built," he noted, "the more will developing countries suffer exploitation and plunder. To put it bluntly, it is anything but helping the industrialization of developing countries; rather, it is out-and-out economic colonialization. This neo-colonialist policy practised under the cloak of 'internationalism' is no different in essence from old-line imperialism, only the forms have changed and the tactics are more cunning."

Wang Yueh-yi went on to say:

"The developing countries have learnt through experience that only by strengthening their unity in resolutely combating imperialism and hegemonism and only by carrying out repeated struggle against aggression, subversion and plunder will they be able to break through the constraints, remove the obstacles and open up a broad road to industrialization."

"The practice of many developing countries proves that they should rely mainly on the strength and wisdom of their people, working actively at the same time to strengthen the militant unity and the mutual aid and co-operation among them," he said.

"The industrialization of developing countries," he pointed out, "is linked up with the development of the national economy as a whole. As we in China see it, it is very important that the overall policy for the development of the national economy should be one which takes agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and that there should be a proper handling of the relationship between various sectors of the national economy, especially the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry."

THIRD WORLD CHRONICLE

Unfavourable Position of Developing Countries in International Trade

The imperialists, the superpowers in particular, have continued to monopolize international trade since the end of World War II. They have put up tariff and non-tariff barriers, artificially pressed down prices of primary products exported by Asian, African and Latin American countries and raised prices of manufactured goods exported to the developing countries. Thus, the terms of trade for the developing countries have rapidly deteriorated and their share of the international trade has grown smaller and smaller.

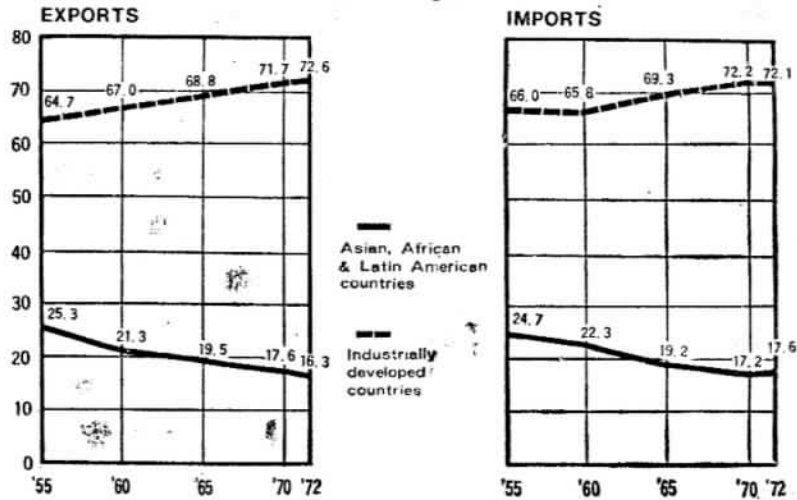
Exports from Asian, African and Latin American countries mainly are primary products (foodstuffs, raw materials, minerals, fuel). In the 21 years from 1950 to 1970, prices of these products were always lower than in 1950 whereas those of manufactured goods from the developed countries rose steadily, with prices in 1970 up 44 per cent compared to 1950. The ever heavier exploitation the developing countries suffered from an exchange of unequal values in trade caused them a loss of 103,400 million U.S. dollars in 1960-72. Meanwhile, their position in international trade rapidly declined. The share of their exports in international trade dropped from 25.3 per cent in 1955 to 16.3 per cent in 1972, and imports went down from 24.7 per cent in 1955 to 17.6 per cent in 1972. The charts and table on this page, prepared in accordance with U.N. statistical data, illustrate the case well.

Third World's Rich Raw Material Resources

Minerals. Rich in mineral deposits, the Third World holds an important place in the world's mineral production. The Asian, African and Latin American regions abound in im-

ASIAN, AFRICAN & LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES' SHARE IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

(Percentage)



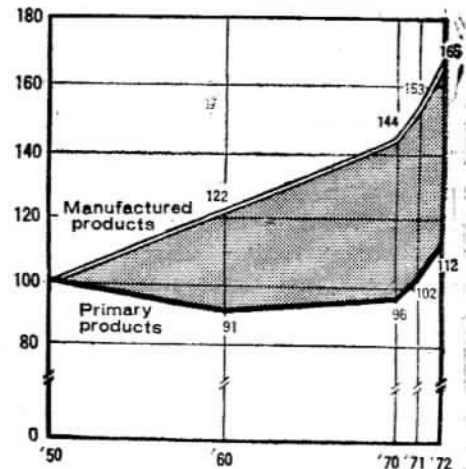
LOSSES BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES RESULTING FROM DETERIORATED TERMS OF TRADE

(Unit. 100 million U.S. dollars)

YEAR	1960-63	1964-67	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1960-72 aggregate
LOSS	224.18	277.87	91.18	96.89	111.47	119.16	114.19	1,034.94
AVERAGE ANNUAL LOSS	56.05	69.47						79.61

portant industrial and strategic raw materials such as bauxite, copper, tin, iron, antimony, nickel, lead, zinc, tungsten, manganese, chromium, diamond and mica. In 1972 these regions produced 50 per cent of the total world bauxite output of 67 million tons. In Latin America, Jamaica, Surinam and Guyana alone accounted for one-third of the output. World copper ore production in 1973 was estimated at over 7.4 million tons, with the total output of Zambia, called the "copper country," Zaire, Chile and Peru reaching 2.16 million tons. Asia leads the world in both deposits and production of tin. The Southeast Asian region alone accounts for about 60 per cent of the world's total deposits. The world's largest tin producer for over 80 years, Malaysia produced 76,000 tons of tin ore in 1972. Asia also produces more magnesite than elsewhere in the world. Over 80 per cent of the world's diamonds comes from Africa and Zaire is the biggest among the producers. According to 1971 statistics, output of manganese ore in

PRICE INDICES OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS & MANUFACTURED GOODS



Asia, Africa and Latin America was about 4.74 million tons, making up 58 per cent of the world's total.

Gold and silver. The Asian, African and Latin American regions also possess many precious metals. South Africa produced 812 tons of gold in 1973, amounting to 77.3 per cent of the total capitalist world output. Latin America abounds in silver, holding 32 per cent of the world's total production. Colombia has the

largest platinum deposits known in the world.

Rare metals. The sources of many rare metals are centred in the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and Africa tops the list. Statistics show that about 30 out of over 40 known rare metals are completely or largely concentrated in these regions, where the bulk of beryllium, lithium, tantalum, niobium, bismuth, cobalt and germanium is found. Bismuth output in these regions in 1972 was about 4.6 million pounds, accounting for 62.5 per cent of the world's total. Cobalt output was over 16,000 tons, constituting 84 per cent of the total of the capitalist world. These regions also provide a large percentage of the output and deposits of uranium, zirconium, strontium, cadmium, thorium, titanium, rubidium and vanadium. Uranium deposits in South Africa are the biggest in the world.

Fuel. The Third World is rich in coal, and especially in petroleum. The 1973 explored world petroleum deposits amounted to over 85,970 million tons, with Asian, African and Latin American regions possessing 75,300 million tons, 87 per cent of the world's total.

Last year's world output of crude oil was about 2.820 million tons, of which 1.060 million tons were from the Middle East alone.

Industrial crops. In agriculture, the Third World has diversified industrial crops. Production of peanuts, jute, castor bean, palm oil and palm nuts, sisal hemp, cloves, sugar-cane, cotton, palm dates, sulphate of quinine and cocoanuts form a large percentage of the world's total. The South Asian subcontinent and Thailand produce the greatest part of the world's jute and hibiscus hemp. Two-thirds of the sisal hemp and 80 per cent of the cloves in the world market come from East Africa. Sugar-cane output in the Caribbean region amounts to two-fifths of the world's total. As to oil-bearing crops, peanut production in the Asian, African and Latin American regions constitutes 50 per cent of the world's total. Three-fourths of the world's palm oil and palm nuts come from Nigeria and Zaire.

The 1972 total world output of rubber, a strategically important product, amounted to over 3.12 million

tons, with Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka totalling 2.62 million tons, 84 per cent of the world's total.

Beverages. The world's beverages are produced chiefly in the Asian, African and Latin American regions, which are the sole suppliers of coffee and cocoa. Brazil and Ghana are the world's largest producers of coffee and cocoa respectively. Asia produces more tea than any other part of the world.

Rice. Among grain crops, rice output of the Asian countries makes up 90 per cent of the world's total.

Although the Third World countries possess abundant raw material resources, they have long lived in poverty because of aggression, plunder and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and the superpowers in particular. With the development of the international situation and the ever awakening of the people, the Third World countries, uniting with one another, are using raw materials as a weapon to launch a new struggle against international monopoly capital and the superpowers.

(Continued from p. 14.)

made to formulate, adopt and implement an international code of conduct for trans-national corporations in order to "prevent interference in the internal affairs of the countries where they operate and their collaboration with racist regimes and colonial administrations"; "regulate their activities in host countries, to eliminate restrictive business practices and to conform to the national development plans and objectives of developing countries."

The Programme emphasizes promotion of co-operation among developing countries, pointing out that "collective self-reliance and growing co-operation among developing countries will further strengthen their role in the new international economic order." It prescribes the steps to be taken which include those "to support the establishment and/or improvement of appropriate mechanism to defend the prices of their exportable commodities and to improve access to and to stabilize markets for them"; "to protect their inalienable right to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources"; "to promote, establish or strengthen economic integration at the regional and subregional levels"; and "to promote close co-operation in the fields of finance, credit relations and monetary issues, including the development of credit relations on a preferential basis and on favourable terms."

The Programme stresses assistance in the exercise of permanent sovereignty of states over natural resources. Particularly, it stresses that all efforts should be made "to defeat attempts to prevent the free and effective exercise of the rights of every state to full and permanent sovereignty over its natural resources."

In the final part, the Programme prescribes that a special programme is to be launched to provide emergency relief and development assistance to the developing countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities. And to this end, it "calls upon the industrialized countries and other potential contributors to extend immediate relief and assistance to the most seriously affected countries."

The Programme "appeals to the developed countries to consider favourably the cancellation, moratorium or rescheduling of the debts of the most seriously affected developing countries on their request as an important contribution to mitigating the grave and urgent difficulties of these countries."

The Programme also "decides to establish a special fund under the auspices of the United Nations, through voluntary contributions from industrialized countries and other potential contributors, as a part of the special programme to provide emergency relief and development assistance."

ROUND THE WORLD

AFRICA

Cambodian Delegation Visits Algeria and Mauritania

The Delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia with Khieu Samphan, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.C. Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the R.G.N.U.C., and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, as head and Special Adviser to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the R.G.N.U.C. Ieng Sary as deputy head, recently paid official visits to Algeria and Mauritania.

While in Algeria in May 2-6, the delegation was warmly welcomed by Cherif Belkacem, Member of the Algerian Council of Revolution and Minister of State; Lieutenant-Colonel Abdelhamid Latreche, Secretary-General of the Ministry of National Defence, and others.

Houari Boumediene, President of the Council of Revolution of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, received all the delegation members on May 3 and had a warm and friendly conversation with them. On the same day, delegation head Khieu Samphan held a press conference in Algiers at which he highly praised the Third World countries for fighting in unity.

A joint statement was signed on May 5 in Algiers after official talks between the Cambodian delegation and the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria. It said: "The two parties express the determination to continue to consolidate and strengthen their solidarity in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism so as to support the struggle of the peoples for freedom and national independence."

The delegation arrived in Nouakchott on May 6 for an official visit

to Mauritania. It was warmly received by Hamdi Ould Mouknass, Member of the Permanent Committee of the National Political Bureau of the Mauritanian People's Party and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others during its stay in Mauritania. On May 7, Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, received all the delegation members and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the distinguished Cambodian guests.

Following talks, Mauritanian Foreign Minister Hamdi Ould Mouknass and Cambodian Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan signed a Cambodia-Mauritania joint statement in Nouakchott on May 8. Referring to the situation in Africa, it said that the two parties are satisfied with the success achieved by the African people in their struggle for regaining and defending independence.

WESTERN EUROPE

Foreign Workers Harshly Exploited

There are large numbers of foreign workers in major West European capitalist countries who suffer the most ruthless exploitation and oppression though they play an important role in the economic life there.

There are 7.5 million foreign workers in Western Europe, plus many non-registered aliens. They come from European countries like Greece, Portugal and Italy as well as from Asian, African and Latin American countries and regions. In Britain, for instance, they are from the West Indies, India and Pakistan; in France, they are from North and West Africa, while in the Netherlands they are from Indonesia and Surinam.

These workers make up a considerable portion of the entire labour force. In France they do nearly half the work in the country's steel production and account for about half of those working on assembly lines in the auto industry.

If foreign workers left France, "construction sites would simply close

down," said Jean Martin of the French Building Industry Association. "Some public works have over 30 per cent foreign labour."

Public health centres in Britain could not function well without nurses from the West Indies, nor could the night shifts of factories and mines and the rail and postal services operate well without foreign workers.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the "economy could not exist without foreign workers," admitted economist Wolfgang Baumann. Half the miners in Belgium are foreigners.

Foreign workers have to do back-breaking jobs but receive little pay. For instance, construction workers in France are already low-paid, but their immigrant fellow workers earn 40 per cent less. In the Federal Republic of Germany, foreign engineering workers earn 20 per cent less than German workers. Foreign workers also suffer other forms of exploitation.

Where there is oppression, there is struggle. The foreign workers in Western Europe are awakening and more and more of them have risen in the struggle to win and defend their rights. In 1973 alone, they took part in several big strikes for the right to live, and demonstrated their new militancy.

U.S.A.

Mass Demonstrations Against Racial Discrimination

Black workers in southern U.S. states have in the last year broken a long-existing calm by their ceaseless struggles against oppression and exploitation. At the same time, the struggles by the workers of other national minorities also have moved forward.

According to the weekly *Guardian*, U.S. workers, local residents and students in some places recently staged successive demonstrations against the local authorities' policy of racial discrimination.

In New York City, hundreds of construction workers from the black and other minority peoples on April 24 held a protest rally in front of the City Hall, opposing racial discrimina-

tion in employing building workers and demanding the enlargement of equal opportunities for employment.

In the latter half of April, a large number of blacks in San Francisco held a rally and demonstrated outside the City Hall, angrily protesting against persecution by the authorities. Prior to this, the municipal authorities had, on the pretext of rounding up criminals, divided the city into six "combat districts," and sent out hundreds of police to launch successive large-scale searches for black inhabitants. This reactionary racist measure aroused great indignation among the black people. They held many protest demonstrations and rallies, calling for a halt to this act of persecuting black people. Placards carried by demonstrators read: "Stop racism and Nazism!" Confronted with the masses' strong protest, the authorities were compelled to stop these unreasonable searches.

More than 200 students and teaching staff of Connecticut University held two sit-in demonstrations in late April, demanding that the university increase enrolment of black students and provide convenient conditions for their studies, and opposing the reactionary theory of the so-called innate backwardness of black people advocated by some professors.

"LA PRESSE" (TUNISIA)

Further Light Shed on Soviet Spying

In a signed article on April 30, the Tunisian paper *La Presse* brought to light the espionage activities in Tunisia of three Soviet spies who had been expelled last September.

Valeri Kosavkov, a so-called "correspondent" of the Soviet News Press Agency, arrived in Tunisia in November 1970. He first got into contact with an official in the Tunisian Foreign Ministry who had studied in Moscow and promised to help him obtain a doctor's degree in law. He thus succeeded in extorting from him information on internal and international policies and documents about relations between Tunisia and certain foreign countries.



Black and other minority U.S. construction workers hold a rally in New York, protesting racial discrimination and demanding equal employment opportunities.

This Soviet "correspondent" made the acquaintance of an employee at the Tunisian Information Ministry in February 1971 through whom he obtained information concerning Tunisia's relations with a neighbouring country. He also drew into espionage activities two Tunisians who had worked at the Soviet News Press Agency and extorted from them information on Tunisian trade union activities and various aspects of state life.

A Soviet embassy "diplomat" acquired from an employee in the Tunisian Foreign Ministry information on the organization of the department he worked in, names of its responsible members, information about appointments and removals of ambassadors and other secret directives. He also got to know an employee at the Tunisian Premier's Office and another at the Tunisian Foreign Ministry. From the latter he received copies of secret reports sent by Tunisian embassies abroad.

Another Soviet embassy "diplomat" got to know an employee at the Topographical Service after several visits there. On his demand, the employee supplied him with charts and data dealing with the Tunisian military and economic situation.

After this spy network was unearched last year, three Soviet spies were declared personae non gratae and expelled. On April 29 the Tunisian State Security Court started to try eight Tunisians who had fallen into the Soviet spy network. This

shed further light on espionage by Soviet spies in Tunisia.

After several trials, the court of May 6 sentenced in absentia the Soviet spy Kosavkov to penal servitude for life.

KATHMANDU

The Biratnagar Explosion Incident

Many Nepalese papers in recent editorials have condemned the Indian Government for conniving at Nepalese anti-national elements who have used Indian territory to carry out anti-Nepal activities.

An explosion incident took place on March 16 during King Birendra's visit to Biratnagar, a town near the Nepal-India border. The king was in a hall listening to a special report on the situation in Koshi when a hand-grenade exploded about 400 metres from the hall. Two persons were killed and 37 wounded on the spot. Though the king was uninjured, the shocked Nepalese people were angry about the incident.

About 100,000 people from all walks of life held a mammoth demonstration and rally in Kathmandu on March 25 to denounce the anti-national elements for engineering the incident.

Nepal Samachar said editorially on April 24: "It has now become clear that the recent Biratnagar bomb explosion was an act by anti-national elements based on Indian territory."

Another Nepalese paper, *Janadut*, said in an April 28 editorial that anti-national elements living in India had carried out a series of despicable activities in Nepal from Indian soil in the past year. They threw explosives at the building of the Nepal National Bank, murdered policemen, set fire to police outposts, hijacked a Nepalese plane and looted hundreds of thou-

sands of rupees and engineered the Biratnagar bomb incident. The paper pointed out that it has now been proved that preparations for all these acts were made in India, and the elements responsible for the crimes have been at large there.

In an editorial on April 26 the weekly *Arpan* said: "In fact, India is fully responsible for all these subver-

sive acts, including the Biratnagar explosion."

Pratijha said editorially on April 27: "It is clear that the shelter granted by neighbouring India for these anti-national elements is the main cause of such outrages . . . India should fulfil its repeated assurances that it will not allow its territory to be used for anti-Nepal activities."

(Continued from p. 6.)

He noted that the current selective trials are taking place under the excellent situation in which the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is developing in depth, and tremendous achievements have been made in China's socialist revolution and construction. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, China's mass sports activities are developing extensively, new forces are growing rapidly, the standards of sports are improving continually, and new achievements have been made in socialist sports.

Chuang Tse-tung called on all those taking part in the selective trials for the Seventh Asian Games to carry out the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius in a deep-going way, abide by the principle of "friendship first, competition second," and strive to raise their standards.

Huang Teh-ming spoke on behalf of the Taiwan-born sportsmen residing in the United States of America and Japan. He said: "We've come to take part in the selective trials for the Asian Games with the long-cherished aspirations of many compatriots in Taiwan Province." He pointed out that sportsmen living in Taiwan Province are unable to come to this meeting owing to the tight control by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. But, he said, "we believe that the day will surely come when they will return to the embrace of the motherland, enjoy a happy reunion with the physical culture workers and sportsmen of the motherland and together take part in international competitions. Taiwan must be liberated and the motherland must be reunified. No imperialism or reactionary force can prevent this."

On behalf of the sportsmen at the current selective trials, Ning Hsiao-lin also spoke at the ceremony.

Concern for People in Areas Hit by Earthquake

A strong earthquake struck the Chaotung area in southwest China's Yunnan Province and the Liangshan Yi Autonomous *Chou* in neighbouring Szechuan Province at 03:25 hours on May 11, with aftershocks on May 12.

As verified by the network of Chinese seismological observatories, the shock was of 7.1 magnitude. The epicentre area was 28°2' North Latitude and 104° East Longitude. The earthquake caused varying degrees of damage to houses and loss of life and livestock.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council have shown great concern for the people of various nationalities in the affected areas, and immediately organized the departments concerned for relief work. A delegation led by Minister of Commerce Fan Tzu-yu was sent to express sympathy and concern for the people.

The Szechuan and Yunnan Provincial Committees of the Chinese Communist Party have taken emergency measures and organized the provincial departments concerned to join the Liangshan Yi Autonomous *Chou* and the Chaotung area in relief work and to take measures against any recurrence. People's Liberation Armymen and medical teams have been sent to the scene to protect the

people against tremors and carry out relief work. The State Bureau of Seismology and seismological personnel in Kunming and Chengtu hurried to the affected areas to keep a close watch on the situation.

With the concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and under the impetus of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the people of various nationalities in the affected areas are fully confident of overcoming difficulties. They are determined to work vigorously and rely on their own efforts to develop production and rebuild their homes.

Strong Protest Against South Korean Fishing Vessels' Piratical Acts

South Korean fishing vessels recently have brazenly rammed on successive occasions Chinese fishing boats operating in the East China Sea. They wantonly destroyed Chinese fishing gear, beat and injured Chinese fishermen, took away the latter's catches, and even intruded into China's territorial waters for illegal activities. These atrocities by south Korean fishing vessels have aroused the strong indignation of Chinese fishermen.

Pointing out that the actions of the south Korean fishing vessels were out-and-out piratical acts, a Chinese department concerned lodged a strong protest against them. It sternly warned the south Korean authorities that they must immediately adopt measures to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. Otherwise, they must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Acupuncture Anaesthesia In Open Heart Surgery With Heart-Lung Machine

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, doctors of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine of the No. 3 People's Hospital affiliated to the Shanghai No. 2 Medical College working in close co-ordination have performed more than a hundred open heart operations since April 1972 with a heart-lung machine on patients anaesthetized by acupuncture. The rate of success was above 90 per cent. This achievement opens up new horizons for operations under acupuncture anaesthesia since body temperature need not be lowered and complications during and after the operation are fewer than when the operation is done under general anaesthesia, which is the usual practice. The youngest patient was ten, and the longest extra-corporal circulation lasted 121 minutes.

One operation lasting three and a half hours involved repairing the rupture of an aneurism of sinus of the aortic valve (rupture of the aorta to the right heart) and an inter-ventricular septal defect.

On the morning of the operation acupuncture needles were inserted at several points into the body of a young man of the Chengtung Commune in Taihsing County, Kiangsu Province. The patient was fully conscious and aware of every step in the operation, but felt no pain. A sense of oppression was reported only when the patient's chest was opened and the heart-lung machine was attached for extra-corporal blood circulation. The patient also felt slight discomfort when the surgeon was manipulating the heart. The surgeon asked him to do abdominal breathing and at the same time relieved the discomfort by providing oxygen. Circulation was maintained for 33 minutes by the heart-lung machine. The blood pressure, pulse and breathing of the patient were fairly stable during the operation. The day after the operation, he could eat tangerines and on the seventh day began to move about.

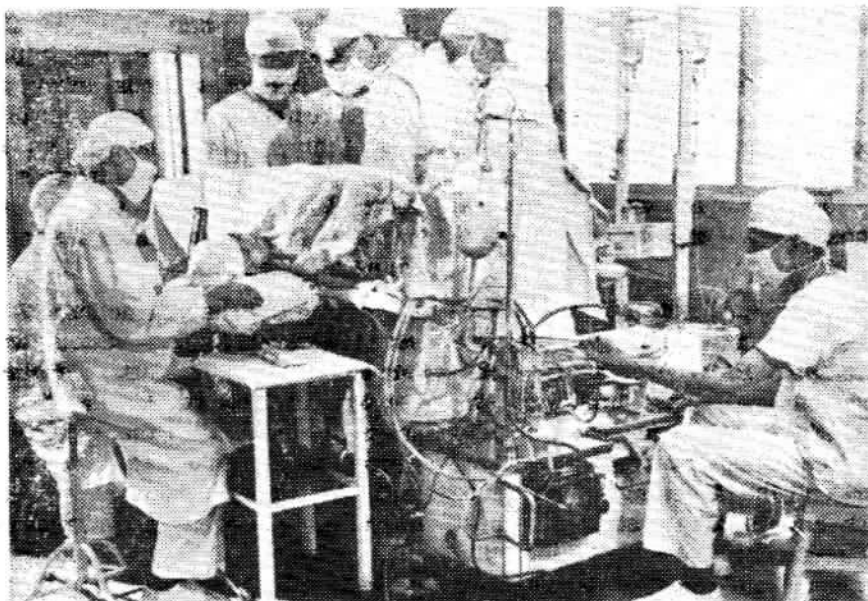
Open heart surgery with extra-corporal blood circulation uses a heart-lung machine to replace the function of the patient's heart and lungs when the surgeon is exposing the heart to observe pathological changes in the heart itself and

carrying out repairs and corrections. Open heart surgery under general anaesthesia usually involves hypothermia (lowering of the patient's body temperature) which slows down metabolism, reduces oxygen consumption by tissues and protects cells. The negative side is the frequency of metabolic disorders, arrhythmia of the heart and post-operative lung complications.

Open heart surgery under acupuncture anaesthesia without lowering the patient's temperature is safer, simpler and more economical. It can avoid disorders of physiological functions and the postoperative side-effects caused by anaesthetics. In fact, acupuncture can stimulate and strengthen the patient's positive factors and adjust the functions of his body. The patient recovers faster and better after an operation, takes food and moves about sooner.

Success in open heart surgery with a heart-lung machine and the patient under acupuncture anaesthesia and its further improvements resulted from the deep-going movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and education in ideological and political line among the medical workers.

At first some people felt that as open heart surgery was something relatively new in surgery and rather difficult and complicated, acupuncture anaesthesia was not feasible. They feared that while remaining conscious the patient would experience intolerable discomfort when the chest was being opened and during manipulation of the heart. Under the leadership of the hospital Party general branch, the medical personnel conscientiously studied the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works, severely criticized idealist apriorism preached by Lin Piao and his like, vehemently repudiated the bourgeoisie's national nihilism and slavish comprador philosophy and thus raised their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They came to see that truth comes from practice and that they must dare to try what others had not yet done.



Open heart surgery in progress, with patient under acupuncture anaesthesia.

The medical workers of this hospital, both doctors of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, earnestly summed up the clinical experience in operations done under acupuncture anaesthesia. In the past they had operated on patients under acupuncture anaesthesia, involving opening up the chest and manipulating the heart with fingers or dilators, yet the patients showed no signs of unbearable pain and they recovered faster and better than patients operated on under general anaesthesia. Practice provided them with valuable experience and greater confidence in open heart surgery with a heart-lung machine on patients under acupuncture anaesthesia. Finally, on April 19, 1972, for the first time they successfully did a cardiac repair and correction for trilogly of pulmonary stenosis, inter-ventricular septal defect and right ventricular hypertrophy.

Surgeons of the Western school who took part in such operations modestly learnt from doctors of traditional Chinese medicine. They co-operated in doing needling on themselves to find acupuncture points with fairly good analgesic effect, in accordance with the theories of *ching lo* (meridians) and the objective, external signs of the state of the internal organs. Repeated practice and constant improvements over the past two years continuously increased the analgesic effect achieved. In treating postoperative complications, doctors of both schools of medicine also pooled their efforts and used traditional Chinese and Western methods to enable the patients to recover much more quickly.

Worker-Teachers

UNDER the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in education, over 600 outstanding workers and revolutionary technical personnel were selected from industrial and mining enterprises in east China's Wusih city, Kiangsu Province, to be full- or part-time teachers. This measure has strengthened working-class leadership over the revolution in education.

Bold in practice and in their pioneering efforts in changing the

old educational system, these worker-teachers have become a backbone force in the educational revolution. Those at the No. 3 Middle School were among the first to give "open-book examinations" (allowing students to consult textbooks, notes or other reference materials while answering questions). This procedure was supported by the Party branch and readily welcomed by the students. During an examination in Chinese, worker-teacher Chou Yi-ching, who was in charge of the educational revolution at the school, organized first-year students of the senior middle school into groups to go to six factories to make social investigations and write reports on their findings. He himself led a group to the No. 1 Silk Factory four times. They took part in manual labour and helped veteran workers write their family histories describing their bitter experiences before liberation and their hatred for the exploiting classes. In this way, the students not only received a profound class education but also learnt to write better compositions.

Following the initiative of the worker-teachers, many on the original teaching staff also made bold efforts to carry out reforms. They gave examinations in forms that are better suited to the characteristics of the students, such as oral, open-book and on-the-spot examinations, group discussions, and answering questions which are drawn up by the students themselves and which each can choose for himself. All this has greatly improved the students' ability to analyse and solve problems.

Loyalty to the Party's cause of education imbues these worker-teachers with dedication to the task of training the younger generation of the proletariat. In the classroom, they give lively, practical instructions on the ideological and political line in connection with their teaching material. After class, they often take time off to have heart-to-heart talks with the students, or visit the students' families to do patient, thoughtful ideological work.

They have brought to the educational front the fine working-class

tradition of combining theory with practice. They encourage the students to closely link their small classrooms with society. Wang Yao-yuan, who teaches mathematics at the No. 1 Middle School, has 15 years' rich practical experience as a worker. He has often invited veteran workers to give lectures to his class and taken the students to factories and villages to teach mathematics by combining instruction with practice in production. This has given the students a better understanding of mathematical theories and enabled them to apply their knowledge. It has also stimulated greater initiative and enthusiasm in study.

Worker-teachers have strictly implemented the Party's policy towards intellectuals. They enthusiastically help the teachers, through study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to abandon their old pedagogical ideas and speed up the remoulding of their world outlook.

Geo-Thermal Power Station

AN experimental geo-thermal power station has been designed and built under the joint auspices of Peking's department of power industry and Peking University. Located in Huailai County, about 90 kilometres northwest of the capital, it will help build up experience in the utilization of underground hot water for producing low-cost electricity.

For such power stations there is no need to build a dam as in the case of hydroelectric stations. Hot water pumped from a well heats an intermediate medium of low boiling point in the evaporator, turning it into vapour which propels the turbo-generator. Easy to operate and maintain, the Huailai station has proved to be very efficient and up to the designed requirements during continuous operation.

This type of power station will enable China to make full use of "low-level energy sources" such as the numerous hot springs and underground hot water found in many parts of the country and industrial waste heat.

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